The Famous

CONCLAVE,

WHEREIN

Clement VIII.

Was Elected

POPE:

WITH THE

Intrigues and Cunning Devices

OF THAT

Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly.

Faithfully Tranſlated out of an *Italian* Manuſcript, found in one of the Cardinals Studies after his Death.

LONDON:

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To his much Honoured Friend

WILLIAM PAWLET

of the *Middle-Temple*, Esq;

SIR,

THis Production of Wit, having been Fatherless these seventy eight years, is come to seek out your Protection: Neither can I disapprove its choice, knowing the candour of your Soul, and your innate humanity, which reacheth even to those that are most strangers to you. You shall see in it, as in an Epitome, the various Jarrs, Events, and Successes that attend a Political Body, compounded of several Humours and Tempers, and by one hours reading in your Study, not only Travel as far as *Rome*, but also be admitted into the most secret place of

Clement viii. was Elected *January* 30. 1592

it, which is the *Conclave*; wherein it is not lawful for any ſtranger to enter, and out of which School to carry Tales, is a capital Offence. The truth of this ſecret Hiſtory had the good fortune to fall into the hand of a notable Wit and Pen, if I do not miſtake; as for my part I challenge nothing in it, but the changing of its *Italian* Habit into an *Engliſh* Dreſs: I ſhall think my ſelf well rewarded for my pains, if the Publick taketh as much pleaſure in the reading of it, as I have done in my particular: and if you pleaſe to gueſs by this, the natural inclination I have to deſerve the title of

Your Affectionate Friend,

and humble Servant,

GARENCIERES.

To the Reader.

READER,

I *Preſent thee here with a matter full of curioſity, but more replete with Inſtructions. It is the* Conclave, *wherein* Clement VIII. *was Elected* Pope. *I have ſelected it from many others, the Manuſcripts whereof I have in* Italy *peruſed; in which you ſhall diſcover an admirable repreſentation of that intricate Cloſet-War, the Garland of which Victory is the ſupremeſt Diadem in the Chriſtian World: In which War, although there be not an iſſuing Flux of Blood, yet there is as large an out-let of Deceit and Policy as is in any War beſides. Moreover, I find in it an object of admiration, when I obſerve an immediate tract of Divine Providence, and how the Election*

Election of Santa Severina, *a man of the highest estimation in the* Spanish *Favour, and being assisted with the advantage of Votes, both for multitude and validity, should yet be overthrown even by an infused blindness in those Cardinals that undertook to be his Supporters: insomuch that having divers times attempted to reduce their Votes into a contracted number, they were so confused among themselves, that they gave opportunity to the* French *Faction to work the declination of some of his Voices, and so the Election did become abortive. This being now made publick in this conjuncture of time, wherein the present* Conclave *hath held the World so long in suspence, I doubt not (Courteous Reader) of your acceptation of it as it is, and hope you will make a particular estimation of it.*

For *Santa Savarina*, read *Santa Severina* in the following Discourse.

THE CONCLAVE

Held during the Vacancy of POPE

INNOCENTIUS IX.

For the Election of POPE

CLEMENT VIII.

MY LORD,

IN obedience to your Lordſhips commands, I have undertaken to render you a Succinct Relation of the Proceedings of the Conclave in their Election of Pope *Clement* the Eighth. In the beginning whereof I muſt ingeniouſly confeſs my ſelf perplexed with aſtoniſhment and fear, when I conſider the brevity of man's life, and how often we find Joy and Tears to be each others ſucceſſors; ſeeing that in the little ſpace of 18 months we have ſeen five Popes, *Sextus*, *Urbanus*, *Gregorius*, *Innocentius*, and *Clement*: which accident, it is poſſible, never yet did happen: and they do the more affright me, as being the ſcourges of a Celeſtial Power upon us, to admoniſh us of our deceits and grievous ſins. And if ever there were a Conclave full of turbulency, contentions, danger and difficulty, fit to beget a Schiſm amongſt us, certainly this was the moſt terrible and dangerous; in which every thing had gone topſie turvy, had not the Divine Providence interpoſed his right hand, and made uſe of his Omnipotency in the compoſure of all diſcords, and

uniting in a happy Concord thoſe diſpoſitions that were before at variance: not alone to the amazement of thoſe that ſaw it, and were active in it; but to them alſo that have heard, or ſhall hereafter hear of it. Pope *Innocent* the Ninth, a man of innocent life, and eminent virtue, having attained the Popedom at the age of 73 years, did ſurrender his ſoul unto the Sovereign Creator, within the ſpace of two months, to the great grief of all *Rome*, being deprived of that great hope ſhe had conceived of his equity and prudence, of which virtues (to the alacreous comfort of the Inhabitants of *Rome*) he had begun an happy demonſtration; inſomuch that it ſeemed unto them that God had only ſhewed, and not beſtowed him upon them. From hence there being a neceſſity to Elect a Succeſſor unto him, the Cardinals were all repleat with various thoughts, and perplexed with diſturbant cares; not only becauſe there was not in the world a more important buſineſs, but alſo becauſe they were extaſied with diſtractions amongſt themſelves, Every one intending to procure an Election according to his own Inclination and Intereſt. But it was a rare and exemplary thing, that amongſt ſo many diviſions, they ſhould all, or the moſt part, aim at the Election of the ableſt and moſt honeſt perſon: As an evidence that all Contrarieties muſt ſubſcribe to honeſty and virtue. And if at that time we have ſeen one that was the moſt worthy of the Popedom (as we may ſay) and yet to ſee him eclips'd, we cannot but diſcern ſome occult and Divine Providence, to which we muſt ſubmit our beſt indeavours.

The Cardinals were divided into three Factions: the firſt was of *Spain* under the Conduct of *Madruzzo*, with whom alſo did ſide divers others that were either that Kings Subjects, Penſioners, Kinſmen, or Dependents. The intent of the King (as his Miniſters did avouch) was very good, who was onely deſirous of a Pope that was honeſt and zealous for the glory of God: As alſo (it ſeemed) that all other Princes did deſire it. But in truth, to examine their Proceedings more narrowly, the ſcope of every ones intent was to deſire one to whom he himſelf had the neareſt relation. In which deceit the Royal

Miniſters

Miniſters, reſolving to approve themſelves ſolicitous and expert in managing their Maſters affairs, concluded that no other ſhould be Pope than one of theſe, that is, *Columna*, *Como*, *Palioto*, *Santa Savarina*, and *Madruzzo*. And although outwardly they did moſt appear for *Santa Savarina*, yet it was eaſily diſcernable, that they were inwardly more inclinable to *Madruzzo*; as conceiving him the man that they had more truſt in, hiding nevertheleſs with great ſubtilty this their ſecret intention: But that you may the better underſtand how things were at that time, you ſhall know, that the Cardinals of the *Spaniſh* faction (were it either diffidency, or jealouſie, or any other paſſion) were extreamly divided amongſt themſelves, one ſtanding for one Pope, and a ſecond for another; in which diviſion there were ſome that did not only refuſe all the prenominated perſons, but would have introduced others in whom the King could not confide; as is apparent by examination of the effects, without any further ſearch into the particulars at the preſent. There were ſome that were of an opinion, that that faction had at that time another misfortune and impediment, which is, that *Madruzzo* being the Pilot of that Ship, and aſpiring to the Popedom, it may be more by the perſwaſion of others than any inclination of his own, did conceal his thoughts with a great deal of ſubtilty; and did not indeavour the promotion of others, but did rather craftily prevent them, that thereby the way of exaltation may be the more facile and open unto him; although others ſay, that theſe were but falſe rumours and ſuſpitions.

The ſecond Faction was that of *Montalto*, chief of the Creatures of *Sextus* the fifth, joyned with the *Spaniards*, *Venetians*, and *Tuſcans*, with a reſolute mind to make *Santa Savarina* Pope, which was his Reſolution at the former Conclave, (as it is manifeſtly apparent) for, at which time there was a talk of the Adoration of *Santiquatro*, he then asking *Mendoza*, who was then the head of the *Spaniſh* Faction, *Which would be more acceptable to the King*, of Santiquatro *or* Santa Savarina? *Mendoza* wittily anſwered him, *That they were both fair in reſpect of the King.* And *Montalto* demanding again, *Which of the two would be more willingly received by*

the King? Mendoza immediately answered him, *That they stood both equal in the Kings estimation*: Insomuch that all Scruple being removed from *Montalto*, he went and did unanimously concur with the rest in the Adoration of *Santiquatro*. Here many will wonder at the Alteration of *Montalto*, who was in a possibility of making *Santa Savarina* Pope, when *Gregory* the fourteenth was elected, and have engaged *Spain*, *Tuscany*, and divers other Creatures unto him, yet would never apply himself to his Favour, shewing that he did abhor his Nature and Severity, and fear, that his Exaltation would be his Depression, and that the same thing should displease him now, which before was so plausible to him; and that he would now so much confide in him, whom he had so much distrusted before. But Miracles must be Passive, where the Hand of God is Active, who is the sole Director of all humane Affairs, and his Works above the Search or Apprehension of Mans Capacity: Yet there have not been wanting acute and subtile Wits to search out the Cause of this Mutation in *Montalto*; some are of opinion, that this alteration in *Montalto* did proceed from this, that he was now better informed of the good Disposition of *Santa Savarina* than he was before; others attribute it to the great Instance of the great Duke, who desired no other to be Pope than *Santa Savarina*, assuring him, that he being once invested in the Papacy, would assume him as much into his Favour and good Esteem, as ever he was in the opinion of *Sextus*. Others report, that he did it to ingratiate himself with *Spain*, who desired likewise that he should be Pope, *Montalto* being resolved altogether to depend upon the Protection of that Crown, having considered that he could not make choice of a more secure Protection than this for himself and Family. Others did conceive it did proceed from the Fear that *Montalto* did always stand in of *Paliotto*, doubting that the *Spaniards* would set him up again, and pitch upon him or else upon *Santa Savarina*, or upon *Madruzzo* or *Como*, all which he did equally loath, as a sick Man doth bitter things. There have been some besides that esteemed this Practice of his to be a Stratagem, that he might by that bait of *Santa Savarina* invite the *Spaniards* to confide in him, and to induce them to accept him for one of their Creatures, in case that he should not make any of the other afore-

named

named to be Pope; *Montalto* intending with that Art to couzen the Art of the *Spaniards*, seeing that the Report went, that they would joyn with him, with Intention to make use of his favourable Indeavours; but that he should not do the like of theirs unless it were by Constraint; and to make themselves secure by that Union, of those Subjects that were absolutely excluded by them *Salviati*, *Verona*, and *Mondovi*, that none of them might by chance be made Pope against their will. But leaving off these Considerations unto them who are desirous to examine them, we shall see that the Intention of *Montalto* is really to make *Santa Savarina* Pope; and in case he could not accomplish that, then to settle it upon some Creature of his own, aiming chiefly at *Aldobrandino*, as the more probable man by reason of his good Nature and excellent Virtues; as also because of the prompt Inclination of the whole Colledge expressed to him in former Conclaves, and for the excessive Love he alwaies bare unto him, having alwaies reputed him as his Father; although with a great Prudence he did strive to conceal that Affection, fearing to give offence unto the rest of his Faction.

The third Faction was that of *Sforza* the chief of the *Gregorians*, amongst whom there were excellent Men; but unfortunately they were opposed by the *Spaniards*, not through any deserts of their own, but because of their particular interest, and reasons of State: from whence *Sforza* considering all these things, and observing the great difficulties that opposed him, he conceived it altogether impossible to promote any of his Faction to the Papacy; wanting for that present, the favour and assistance of *Montalto*, with the help whereof he had obtained all his former Victories; he saw that at that time he had not one of his Faction that had the countenance of *Spain* for his support, as formerly he had: as *Santo Marcello* who was after *Urban* VII. *Cremona* who was *Gregory* XIV. and *Santo Quatro* who was *Innocentius* VIII. elected one after another with the help of the Nomination and Favour of *Spain*, and of *Montalto*: He perceived that at that time the only aim of *Spain* was to exclude the chief of his Faction; he did consider that in all reason the Colledge should make some

equal Dividend of their Favours amongſt the other Factions. But the thing that did only diſguſt him was, that *Santa Savarina*, a man by him extremely diſaffected, was in all probability likely to be preferred, Pope *Innocentius* being then dead. *Montalto*, *Madruzzo*, *Gaietano*, *Monti* and many others, together with *Ceſſa* Catholick Embaſſador began to practiſe openly in behalf of *Santa Savarina*, with ſuch a Fervor, that they publickly ſaid, *They had the Papacy in their hands:* either it was that they did verily believe it, becauſe of their powerful Faction; or elſe it was to terrifie their Adverſaries from attempting to exclude him: which way was more hurtful to the Cauſe of *Santa Savarina*, ſeeing it proved an Irritation and Spur to thruſt his Adverſaries into Deſpair, and ſo excite them by all poſſible means to hinder him: from whence it is a thing in this place remarkable that it is more ſecure to make his way by plauſible and ſmooth Actions, than by violent and thundring, and rather to eſteem of his Enemies, than to contemn them. Therefore *Sforza*, *Altempos*, *Arragona*, *Colunna*, *Alexandrino*, *Sfondrato*, and others of their Adherents, being incenſed not only to ſee ſo much Favour for *Santa Savarina*, but alſo that they would make him Pope in ſpite of them, made an Union and a League amongſt themſelves to oppoſe his Greatneſs, giving Aſſurance to each other by Oath, to reſiſt him to their utmoſt power, and not to decline that Union upon any Accident whatſoever. And certainly it is a miraculous thing, to conſider, that they ſhould engage themſelves in Oppoſition to an Occaſion of ſuch Difficulty that it was almoſt impoſſible for them to overcome. Nevertheleſs guided by the Holy Ghoſt they did reſolve to attempt it, applying themſelves with all Induſtry againſt *Santa Savarina*; and to deſtroy his Practices they did propound to the Cardinals his extreme Severity, with the Damage and Ruine that muſt accrew both to the publick and the private, if he were made Pope. After that, they did endeavour to put a diffidence between him and *Montalto*, and the Faction of *Spain* and the *Florentine*, under divers Colours and Arguments: And to diſſwade and take off *Montalto* from him, they attempted him with Glory and Intereſt, and to advance one of his Creatures to the Papacy: they did invite *Madruzzo* likewiſe with the ſame Stratagems

gems and Promiſes; as alſo not being wanting to inſinuate into the Minds of all his Competitors the Facility they might find in procuring the Papacy for themſelves, wherein they would be aſſiſtant unto them: which Suggeſtions were very powerful and would have been greedily ſwallowed by any who had not a more divine Illumination to conclude, the Intention of theſe combined men was to excite on all ſides Confuſions, Diviſions, and Diſtractions, to divert and break in ſome part the Plots and Practices of *Santa Savarina*. Theſe Contentions were pleaſing unto thoſe who out of a ſelf-conceitedneſs did believe out of theſe Revolutions to work a way to their own ends: and if any had reaſon to hope, *Madruzzo* was not to be debarr'd his ſhare of Expectation; for if *Santa Savarina* ſhould be once excluded, *Montalto* (in reſpect of the King's Favour) would in all probability caſt a favourable Aſpect towards him: Nevertheleſs the Practices of *Santa Savarina* went on with ſuch a heat, as can hardly be imagined, becauſe *Montalto* was every day more ſolicitous in it; the great Duke had Intention to no body but to him; the Count of *Olivarez* Catholick Embaſſador, before he went to be Vice-roy in *Sicily*, planted a great Foundation for him both in *Rome* and *Spain*. A wonderful thing that two Princes that were of different Spirits ſhould concur with ſuch earneſtneſs in the ſame Subject, that it was almoſt impoſſible to diſcern which was the moſt forward in his Favours towards him: Neither were theſe Favours ſecret but open, neither was it a new thing, but continued a long time, and confirmed by the greateſt deſires of theſe Princes, and the greateſt Endeavours of their Miniſters. The Cardinals which did exclude *Santa Savarina* were few, but they were united, they were ſixteen in all, *viz.* *Arragona*, *Colonna*, *Paleotto*, *Como*, *Altemps*, *Canano*, *Mondovi*, *Lancidotto*, *Aſcoli*, *Sforza*, *Sfondrato*, *Palavicino*, *Boromeo*, *Æquaviva*, and *Platta*. On the contrary ſide he had many Supporters, that you might have ſeen Kindred at diſagreement; *Ruſticuccio* was favourable unto him, *Alexandrino* Opponent, the Young *Colonna* did adhere unto him, the Old did abhor him. There were alſo ſome of the Factions that were diſſonant from their Heads; *Farnezi* a Creature of *Sfondrato* voted for him, and *Sfondrato* his Chief excluded him; on the other ſide,

Aſcoli

Ascoli and *Boromeo* Creatures of *Montalto* did disagree from the same *Montalto*. It is said that *Ascoli* did it to please *Alexandrino*, who was Author of his Greatness, and *Boromeo* to please *Altempos*, who was his Kinsman and Benefactor. It is said that *Sfondrato* made himself one of the Heads of the Exclusion for many Causes, but chiefly to hinder the Increase of *Gaietano*'s Fortune, knowing how much he was in Favour with *Santa Savarina*. The while these Practices were managing in this manner with so many Favours and Helps that there was a general Voice in *Rome*, that without doubt he should be Pope; some intimate Friends of *Sfondrato* spake to him in this manner.

My Lord, Out of the Services which we have devoted unto you, and for the Honour and Happiness of your self and Family, we desire you to hearken with an impartial Ear to what we shall say unto you. In making your self the Head of the Exclusion of Santa Savarina, *you expose your self to an apparent Danger of Ruine. The Exclusion of it self is most odious and difficult. Do you not hear the publick Voice of* Rome, *That* Santa Savarina *is Pope? Who can resist against so many Assistants, as he hath, from* Spain, *from* Montalto, *from the* Florentines *and* Venetians? *Do not you see that you oppose that King, on whom he and the Duke his Brother chiefly depend? Do not you see that you displease the greatest part of the Sacred Colledge that desires him? Do you not see that this is against the holy Will of God, who hath decreed him to be Pope, for some great Mystery and some remarkable Benefit of his Holy Church? All the rest that are combined in this Exclusion are engaged by their Interest, Emulation, Contention, or Hatred, all which may be in some degree excusable; but you having none of these Motives, the greater will be his Offence he shall receive from you, that if by chance your Lordship have received any misinformation against him, be not too credulous; for many times there are Spirits that under the colour of Zeal do sow Seditious Tares to raise Discords amongst the good, and to hinder all worthy persons of the honour they do deserve. To conclude, if you be pleased to consider the troubles that may ensue that Action, imagine that* Santa Savarina *be Pope already: what displeasure and grudge will he have in his heart for opposing him? And consider that in your adversity and affliction you shall find very few that will be any way assistant unto you. Do you not know*

that

that a wiſe man doth not conſider the beginning but the end of things? Conſider that it is now in your power to make him Pope, and altogether to ſave the honour of thoſe that exclude him, and to make unto your ſelf and the reſt of the Excludents an immortal Friend of Santa Savarina. *If the greatneſs and fortitude of your Soul, my Lord, ſhall accuſe us of puſillanimity or fear, at laſt you will not deny that in things of a high concernment, it is requiſite to have a faithful counſel, and mature advice. Therefore we wiſh you to take your recourſe unto God, that he may direct you in a better courſe, and to accept of our advertiſements, with as benigne a conſtruction as our hearts did dictate to our Tongues in the delivery.*

Sfondrato ſtood attentively to hear them, and then gave them this anſwer: *In truth you could not give me a greater or more pregnant teſtimony of your love unto me, than to diſcover the care you have of my proceedings both in honour and ſafety. Thus have you expreſt your ſelves as faithful and loving friends, which I will keep always dear in my memory, and ſhall endeavour to merit this your favour with the return of my Reſpect, and the aſſiſtance of my ableſt Fortunes. But be certain that in this buſineſs of the Election of a Pope, neither Hatred, nor Reſpect, nor Suſpicion, nor Prayers ſhall withdraw me from the Obligation and Oath which I have made to God and his Holy Church, to prefer always his Service before all Intereſt, and all humane Reaſons. And let any man ſay what he pleaſe, if the Holy Ghoſt doth inſpire me to give my Vote to* Santa Savarina, *I will give it him readily: And ſo do you pray to God for me, to direct me what is beſt, and diſmiſs all fear from you; for where it ſhall pleaſe the Holy Ghoſt to lead, there is no danger to follow.* The days appointed for the Funerals being expired, and the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt having been Celebrated in St. *Peters* Church, and the Oration *de ſummo Pontifice eligendo* having been made by the Biſhop of *Traſie*, upon the 10th. of *January*, 1592. the Cardinals went in a Proceſſion from St. *Peters* to the Conclave, with the Singing men before them, ſinging *Veni Creator Spiritus*: the Cardinals were all in number 52, the which being entred the *Paulina*, they made firſt devout Prayers, and the Singing men being gone, they did remain in the Conclave in their little Cells: others went to their Palace to Dinner. That day was laborious and tedious, becauſe of the great multitudes of people that did come to viſit their Lordſhips.

And amongst others, *Santa Savarina* was very much streightned, because of the publick Voice and Fame that was dispersed, that the next morning he should be made Pope; it being an antient custom, that in the times of prosperity every one sheweth himself a most ready Friend.. The Ambassadours of Princes did also sweat in their Visits and Solicitations of their Masters several intentions. The Duke of *Cessa* Ambassadour of *Spain* did stay there till eight of the Clock, which long staying did administer cause of divers suspicions; some verily believed it was to confirm his Solicitation in favour of *Santa Savarina*; others did more discreetly conjecture that it was only done to pass over that night without doing any thing; removing with that delaying of time the thought, and the intention that *Montalto* and his party had that night to carry him unto the Adoration; it being the opinion of the most Judicious, that in that first ardour or heat, and darkness and confusion, they would without doubt have made him Pope: from whence it came, that by the long staying of the Catholick Ambassador the party of *Santa Savarina* missed the opportunity of so fair an occasion: at last the Ambassadour being gone, *Montalto* being weary of that inconvenience, and desirous to lead *Santa Savarina* to the Adoration, was very earnest and importunate to have *Madruzzo* with the same promptitude to go with him to put it in execution.

It is said that *Madruzzo* and *Spinola*, who did govern the Faction of *Spain*, did give counsel to *Montalto*, that it was not fit to attempt the Adoration, unless they were afresh assured of the Votes, the will of man being mutable in the revolution of one hour, saying, That it was much better to defer it till the morning, and rather go securely, than in precipitating of the business in so short a time, which was against the honour of the promoted and the promotors: but the event proved, that this Counsel was prejudicious, and that it is not proper to retard execution after a mature deliberation: as it was done in this case. *Montalto* being unwilling to disapprove of the Counsel of *Madruzzo*, did protract it till the next morning, and in the mean time was not idle, but intentive to continue his solicitation; reviewing and comforting his party, and others that had promised him: he went to rest, but great thoughts being active with him, made him arise before it were day, and prosecute his solicitation to the rest. *Madruzzo* being unwilling to seem backward in the business, did call together

gether all the Cardinals of the Faction of *Venice* and *Florence*, and went with them to the Chamber of *Santa Savarina*, who at that time was in Prayer: the Cardinals, amongſt which was *Aſcanio Colonna* did ſalute him, and honour him as Pope, and took him from his Chamber, conducting him to the Chappel of *Paulina* to worſhip him; being encountred by *Montalto* with a great deal of joy, as one that did hope every hour to accompliſh what he deſired to bring to paſs. It was a pretty thing to obſerve how thoſe that did follow, did buſtle to get before him to be taken notice of, and to expreſs their alacrity to ſee his Exaltation.

Being come into the Chappel, it was remembred that they ſhould ſend for *Gieſualdo* the Dean of the Cardinals, to give the greater countenance and authority to his Adoration; who though a little late came with a face full of Joy, thinking that *Santa Savarina* with the aſſiſtance of his Adherents would have overcome all oppoſition. Now as careful and laborious as theſe parties were to promote the Adoration, no leſs active were the Excludents to hinder it. And although they knew they were not a competent number to make good the excluſion, yet they were not daunted continually to cry *Dominus providebit.*

And having no time to make a Congregation as they did deſign, doubting that while they were making of it, and conſulting what they ſhould do, the contrary Faction ſhould eſtabliſh him Pope before their face. Nevertheleſs in that ſhortneſs of time they did give ſuch orders as they thought beſt for to reſiſt their firſt attempt, which to be ſhort were theſe, that none of them ſhould enter into the *Paulina* for fear he ſhould be unadviſedly conſtrained to do what he would not willingly have done, but that they ſhould all keep themſelves in the Chappel of *Sextus*, or in the Hall; that as they were divided from the others in will, they ſhould be alſo ſeparated in place: after that every one of them ſhould do his uttermoſt endeavour with his Friends and Kindred, to withdraw or ſeduce one at the leaſt from the other Party, ſeeing that one could either give or take the Papacy: And if they could not procure one Vote, they ſhould at leaſt impetrate that they could not give it that morning.

Arragona, *Colonna*, and *Altempos* being ſick of the Gout, cauſed themſelves to be carried into the Hall, hoping thereby by their preſence and authority to retract ſome one from giving their Vote. *Sforza*,

Sfondrato, *Boromeo*, and *Aquaviva*, valorous and generous Cardinals were attentive with zeal to the ſolicitation; one interceding with one, and the ſecond conjuring another: Inſomuch that amongſt the Cardinals of both Factions, there were many contrary conflicts, every one ſeeking to draw another to his ſide. *Alexandrino* was invited to enter into the *Paulina*, who did not refuſe, but did firſt deſire to ſay his Office and Prayers. *Ruſticuccio* was prayed by the Excludents to come into the Chappel of *Sextus*, where ſome of his good Friends were attending to ſpeak with him; but he anſwered that he could not ſtay becauſe the reſt were already gone to make the Pope in the *Paulina*.

Altempos was ſitting in the Hall, with a countenance ſo rigid and ſevere, that it ſeemed to thoſe that came in, do not make *Santa Savarina* Pope. The Cardinal *Del Monti* hoping to mitigate him, went at his turn with a chearful countenance towards him, and told him, *My Lord, you ſee that we are all here together to worſhip* Santa Savarina *for the Pope, and that work, being guided by the Holy Ghoſt*, He deſired his concurrence to it, and that all the honour and merit of ſo great an action ſhould be attributed to himſelf alone.

Altempos who could not hear a harſher note than this, turned unto him with a diſtaſteful aſpect, and with a voice ſo ſharp and loud, that it made every man there to take eſpecial notice of it: and ſaid unto him, *I have no need at all of your counſel, Cardinal* Del Monti, *go you if you liſt, and worſhip the Pope of the Devil.* Which words coming forth of his mouth with ſuch fury, did ſtrike them all with fear and ſcandal.

Santa Savarina having been conducted into the Chappel, and all the Cardinals in a due preparation to worſhip him, *Sforza*, *Sfondrato*, *Boromeo*, and *Aquaviva* ſtood before the door to ſee and obſerve what they were doing within, as alſo to diſtract and diſturb their minds: neither were they fruſtrated in their expectation, becauſe there aroſe no ſmall fluctuation and confuſion amongſt them, ariſing from the diverſity of their interlocution, and there going to and fro in a perpetual motion: which confuſion being obſerved by the ſupporters of *Santa Savarina* to be prejudicial to their proceedings, they endeavoured to appeaſe thoſe confuſions, ſaying, *That this was no time of Diſputation and Diſcuſſion, but of Adoration, ſeeing they were all aſſembled to make ſo ſanctified an Election.* Then *Gieſualdo* as Dean, with

with a great deal of zeal rose up and said unto *Santa Savarina*, *That it was convenient for him to take notice, that in all Conclaves it was usual to have Emulations, and Contentions; because humanity was ambitious of honour and priority: therefore that there might be a placid progress in every respect, he both requested and exhorted him to forgive his opponents.* To which the other courteously replyed, *That notwithstanding the opposition of others he was not moved in himself: Therefore he did forgive them all, promising that he would be always respective and favourable unto them.* *La Rovere* being not yet come into the Chappel, *Montalto* and *Mattei* went to his Chamber to fetch him, where they found *Sfondrato* and *Boromeo*, who were diffwading him to side with *Santa Savarina*, representing unto him his own honour and greatness. And that if he did give his Vote to another, he deprived himself of his own fortune, and his friends of the opportunity and desire they had to make him Pope: which occasion being once omitted, would never be revokable: Exhorting him not to despise their counsel, nor his good fortune, remembring that Charity begins at home, and that *Montalto* did him a great deal of wrong, proposing *Santa Savarina* unto him who was a creature of another Faction, he being created Cardinal by *La Rovere* his Uncle Pope *Sextus*.

On the other side *Montalto* was earnestly solicitous with him to be faithful to his promise, and to shew himself courteous in continuing the respects of so many eminent Cardinals. To conclude, not to blemish his own fortune, in refusing those offers that *Montalto* had made unto him, to render him gracious in the sight of *Santa Savarina*; This good Lord being distracted by the diversity of these Opinions and Counsels, resolved at last as an affable and generous man, to prefer the advice and request of *Montalto* to his own honour and fortune: And therefore with the assistance of the other two Cardinals, in putting on his Robes, he went to pass his Vote for *Santa Savarina*; and passing through the Hall where *Altempos* was still sitting in his Chair, *Altempos* looking with a rigid countenance upon him and the other two Cardinals, one each hand of him, could not forbear virulent language against the reverend old man. These being all come into the Chappel, the supporters of *Santa Savarina* began afresh to prosecute his Adoration: on the other side *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* began with a loud voice, and a great deal of atrogance to cry out, that they neither

ought, nor could proceed any farther, without calling the Votes unto a number, saying, That they were certain that there was not a competent number to complete the Adoration: And if they did proceed in the Election contrary to the accustomed manner, they would protest the nullity and invalidity of the same: which protestations did produce a greater murmur and confusion in the Chappel; some saying that there was no notice to be taken of such protestations, they not being valuable, and only done to prevent the Adoration: and so much the rather, because it was not usual to reckon the Vote, but only after the Adoration. Others did affirm it to be requisite to reckon all the Votes, whereby all objections and oppositions might be taken off. In that ambiguity and irresolution the Dean said, That things may be done Canonically, and with the Holy Peace of God, and to remove all scruples that might be objected against the Election, it would be a thing worthy and necessary to take the number of the Votes. And himself at that instant went about to take an account of them, beginning with those that were next unto him; shewing by the hand, and nominating with the voice, My Lord such a one, one; my Lord such a one, two; my Lord such a one, three; and my Lord such a one, four. And upon that number of four, staying, and looking back, he complained of the great noise that was in the Chappel, seeing that not only the Cardinals were not sitting, but going to and fro confusedly: and after a little while he began to reckon them afresh, saying, one, two, three, four; and being interrupted again, upon the same number he stood, complaining, and intreating the Cardinals to keep their places, and be silent, saying, it was impossible to reckon them in such a confusion. To conclude, it was a miraculous thing, that endeavouring to number them over and over, he could not get beyond the the number of four.

The supporters of *Santa Severina* did protest and assure the Dean that they were a perfect and competent number; and in the mean time some of them did offer to go to the Adoration. The Dean said, *Softly my Lords, let us do our things well and Canonically, it belongs to me to be the first, and I do wish it as zealously as any man; but it is requisite that all things should be done according to Custom.* Those within seeing that such impediments and confusions did proceed from the Excludents who were at the Chappel door, perturbating their Affairs, said

ſaid, that it was therefore neceſſary that the door ſhould be ſhut. But *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* oppoſed themſelves againſt it, ſaying, That the Chappel door ought to ſtand open, that every one might have free ingreſs and egreſs at his pleaſure, which was ſpoken by them as knowing which of them were reſolved to come out. Thoſe within did reply that no body was held by force in the Chappel, that every one that was there was free in his Election, and therefore adviſed every one that was without to enter joyfully, and ſo unanimouſly concur to Elect a Pope; proteſting that otherways they would make him themſelves: Adding, that if they thought by their objections to propagate a Schiſm, they were extreamly miſtaken, becauſe God Almighty would not permit it; and they were of themſelves a competent number to make an Election and Adoration. Thoſe without anſwered, Make a Pope according to your own humour, and we will come and Worſhip him in St. *Peters*.

In this confuſion there was order given to the Secretaries of the Colledge, and to the Maſters of the Ceremonies, to write out the names of all the Cardinals; which going round about, and nominating, and writing faithfully, were nevertheleſs miſtaken amongſt themſelves. And it was obſerved for a ſtrange thing, that Cardinal *Cuzano*, a man of a noble preſence, of a great body, and greater virtue and goodneſs, was for all that overſeen by them; or if he were ſeen, was left out as already written; of which error, taking at laſt notice, to rectifie that error, they began with a loud voice to call my Lord *Cuzano*, who anſwering, ſaid, Here I am, who enquires for me? Some Cardinals did alſo endeavour to take the number of their names, and the buſineſs was the more confounded, one reckoning on the one ſide, and one on the other; one finding more, and the other leſs; ſo that it became the more intricate, by the reaſon that it paſſed through ſo many ſeveral hands; others with a quicker eye had reckoned them, and found them to be a juſt number, but did not publiſh it, leaving the care of it to thoſe whom it did concern. It is certain that in the *Paulina* there were 36 Votes, and of two and fifty Cardinals which were in the Conclave, there was not only two parts of three, which is abſolutely neceſſary, but one Vote more; which the Excludents perceiving, and that they were not ſufficient to maintain the excluſion, not knowing which way to turn themſelves, and to procure any remedy, they found them-

themſelves in a grand perplexity; being conſtrained to adhere to or contradict *Santa Savarina*, both which were prejudicial to their former deſign: ſome of them being of opinion that there was both more honour and ſafety, by the concurrence of their Votes with the reſt for *Santa Savarina*, thereby the more to oblige him, than by oppoſition to loſe on all ſides. It is reported that *Sforza* and *Sfondrato*, being as it were deprived of all hopes, called for their Rochets to go into the Chappel, to follow there the will of God, and to have the honour alſo to have made a Pope. But *Aquaviva*, being a man of an invincible and indefatigable ſpirit in all occaſions, ſent the Auditor his Concla viſta into the *Paulina*, to bring him the juſt number of the Cardinals that were there; who returned with this anſwer, that there were but four and thirty: but the Cardinal thinking they were more, and that he had miſtaken himſelf, he ſent him back again, to tell them over again, which he did with the utmoſt of his care, and brought him word that they were no more than 34; although in truth they were 36: yet this did not proceed either from malice or deceit, but from miſtake. And upon this new relation he did animate *Sforza*, and *Sfondrato*, aſſuring them that the Includents of *Santa Savarina* were but 34. Adding, that although they had been 35, they could not complete the Adoration, becauſe *Santa Savarina* could not adore himſelf. Then the Excludents went with new acclamations to the Chappel door, calling with a loud voice the Dean; who not hearing, or not willing to hear, they were very attentive, and did with wonderful dexterity endeavour to procraſtinate the buſineſs. They did intreat the Cardinals that were next them to call the Dean, who told them that they might come themſelves into the Chappel, and ſpeak with him; thinking by that bait to have drawn them into the Chappel, which would have been held as an argument of their concurrence in the Election, But they perceiving their ſubtilty, would not come in, but called for *Farnezi*, who at the laſt came to demand what they would have? Then they aſſaulted him with violent importunities that he would retire with them, but all was in vain; he anſwering them like a diſcreet and prudent Cardinal, That in ſuch an action he was reſolved to follow the Divine Inſpiration, knowing that with it there could be no digreſſion. And having ſaid thus, he returned into the Chappel without expecting any reply.

The

The old *Colonna* being extreamly afraid that *Santa Savarina* ſhould be Pope, did ſend oftentimes *Gerlinzoni* his Conclaviſta to tell *Aſcanio Collonna* that he ſhould come out of the Chappel, and that he ſhould not ſtay there to ſee his own ruine: But ſeeing that the other would not ſtir, and his fear ſtill increaſing, he ſent him at length a note under his own hand, intimating unto him his promiſe, that at any time when he could inveſt him in, or deprive him of the Papacy, he would decline his Vote from *Santa Savarina*; as now he had an opportunity: And that he would not at the requeſt or perſwaſion of any other be the Confuſion of himſelf, his whole Family, and many others of his beſt Friends.

Aſcanio having received the Note, and having meditated a long time on it, whether he ſhould declare himſelf for *Santa Savarina* or not, finding reaſons and contrarieties on all ſides; at laſt diſcerning that it lay in his power to make or not to make him Pope, did reſolve (as he ſaid) being inſpired of God, to retire himſelf: And in the going out of the Chappel, received a double violence, becauſe thoſe within held him back, and thoſe without pull'd him forwards. Inſomuch that his Rochet was torn: And not being content to go out only, did alſo ſay that *Aſcanio Colonna* would not have *Santa Savarina* to be Pope, becauſe he was not appointed of God. When the old *Colonna* ſaw him out of the Chappel, and near unto him, he kiſſed him on the forehead, ſaying, *O my dear Son, O thou honour and reputation of the Family of the* Collona's, *be thou bleſſed for ever.* All the reſt of the Excludents did imbrace him, and collaud him for ſo brave an action; thinking themſelves at that time quite exempt from all fear or jealouſies. If the retreat of *Colonna* was ſo acceptable to the Excludents, certainly it was to the Includents as diſagreeable: By reaſon that by the privation of that Vote, they were incapable to make the Adoration. And knowing that this diſaſter did happen becauſe the Chappel door being open, the Excludents took advantage to interrupt their proceedings. And that the example of *Colonna* his exition might not be prevalent with any other, the door was preſently ſhut, which raiſed new fears in the Excludents; doubting that remaining in the *Paulina* with 35, they might with a publiek *Scrutinium* proceed to the Election of him, whom they had ſo much aimed at; who although by way of Adoration he could not adore himſelf, yet by way of Election

he might Elect himself: and therefore stood all amazed and astonished. *Altempos* being without fear, and full of courage, turned himself to the young Cardinals, and said, *Be not afraid my Lords, knock, bounce, break the door in pieces.* Whereupon *Sforza*, *Aquaviva*, *Sfondrato*, and *Boromeo* began to storm, and make such a noise and clamour, that to prevent such an inconvenience they opened the door again. Then *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* began afresh to protest the nullity and invalidity of their proceedings, if the door were not left open; since that by shutting the door they kept by violence those Cardinals that were within. Here I cannot pretermit the rare example of *Santa Savarina*, his great humility and constancy; who, seeing in that holy action so many great and dangerous storms arising, said openly, *If for my sake such perturbations and rumours do happen, I pray your Lordships let the door be opened, that I may be gone, and so these discords and storms may be appeased:* which was an evident testimony that there was in him no spirit of Ambition. His supporters were still very importunate to proceed to the Election. And the Dean began to say, *Let us go on in our occasions with a sanctified quietness.* Exhorting them before any further progress be made therein to make a Reconciliation with the Excludents, and to invite them to come willingly to the Adoration; hoping that God would move them to it. And to that purpose he nominated *Madruzzo*, offering himself to go along with him, which motion was approved: they went and instantly intreated their Adversaries from henceforth to put off all discontent in a business of so high a consequence as the Election of the Vicar of Jesus Christ: and that they would come chearfully, because *Santa Savarina* had forgiven whatsoever was past, and would prove a Father and Benefactor unto them all: and that they should make a Pope who would be a prop and honour unto the Catholick Church; Certifying them that they had proceeded so far in it, that without their assistance they had made him Pope: and that they would rather resolve to come voluntarily than by violence. The Excludents did answer, *That knowing the most holy mind of the sacred College, they were certain that their Lordships would not wonder that not one of them would change his mind, because it was not any hate that they did bear unto* Santa Savarina, *but that they did nothing but by holy Inspiration; confiding that they should be not only excusable, but commendable for it; seeing chiefly that*

there

there were many others in the ſacred Colledge, for the Election of whom they would voluntarily concur. It is ſaid, that *Sfondrato* did enlarge himſelf ſo far to *Madruzzo*, as to tell him, *That although he did contradict the Election of* Santa Savarina *who was nominated by the King; nevertheleſs he was confident that his Majeſty as a good and Catholick Prince would not take it ill, and would not eſteem him the leſs his Servant for all that: and that* Madruzzo *as a good and diſcreet Nobleman did not contradict him.* There wanted not opinions that the ſending this Embaſſage was prudently done, but that there was a miſtake in the Election of the Embaſſadours, they being perſons to be ſuſpected that they were not well inclined to the Exaltation of *Santa Savarina.*

The Embaſſage of *Gieſualdo* and *Madruzzo* proving fruitleſs, and returning back into the Chappel, they began to conſult what they ſhould do to proceed to the Election: ſome did ſay that they could not make the Adoration, becauſe they were not in all above 35, and that *Santa Savarina* being not capable of adoring himſelf, the Adoration would prove imperfect: Others ſaid that there was no better or ſecurer way of proceeding than by the Scrutinium, by which *Santa Savarina* might Elect himſelf, and ſo the Election be made valid and perfect, ſeeing that out of 52, 35 was a complete number. That opinion was accepted generally; and therefore it was ordained that Maſs ſhould be celebrated, and that the Cardinals ſhould receive the Communion according to cuſtom. The Dean, to whom it did belong that morning to perform thoſe Holy Myſteries, did withdraw himſelf, and went to his hours of Prayer, and Confeſſion: all which things did take a great deal of time. In the mean time order was given to the Excludents, that they ſhould come to Maſs, and to receive the Communion, and that they ſhould be aſſiſtant to the general Scrutinium, according to the antient cuſtom; who did anſwer, *That they did wonder that thoſe Holy Rites were not performed before, as by the Bull it is commanded: Therefore they were alſo reſolved to hear Maſs, and receive the Communion in the Chappel of* Sextus, *as they did by the hand of* Sfondrato, *refuſing in any manner to joyn with the reſt, fearing that unadviſedly they might fall into ſome act which might be prejudicial unto them.* At length the Dean having ſaid Maſs, and celebrated the Communion in the *Paulina*, himſelf, *Sans*, and *Montalto* as chief of the Orders went to fetch the Votes of the Excludents, who to ſecure them-

ſelves of any ſuſpicion and ſtratagem ; as alſo to hear how things went and to reſiſt them if need were, They ſent *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* to be preſent at the Scrutinium : before whoſe coming the Dean ſaid unto *Santa Savarina*, *That out of his great zeal and piety he ſhould do well to forgive all them that had been opponent againſt his Exaltation*: who anſwered, *That the firſt thing he learned in his infancy, in the Rules of Chriſtianity, was to forgive injuries, and therefore he did again with all his heart forgive all, and would at any time give them all poſſible ſatisfaction.* *Verona* being a good and zealous Cardinal, did beſeech him beſides that he would not take exceptions againſt *Boromeo* for any thing he had done in this buſineſs, becauſe it did not proceed from any ill intention, but only to comply with *Altempos*. *Santa Savarina* did anſwer and ſay, *That he always loved him, and that he would love him afterwards as his own Son, becauſe he did ſo neerly reſemble that great Cardinal* Boromeo, *who was the greateſt Light, and rareſt preſident of Piety that was in the Church of God for many years.* Whereupon *Verona* being overcome with this mildneſs, asked what name his Holineſs would be pleaſed to aſſume ? who anſwered, *Clement.* And *Verona* ſaid that the aſſumpſion of that name was very proportionable to the benignity and clemency of his mind.

It was reported that *Gaetano* went to the Chamber of *Canano*, where he lay ſick of the Gout ; intreating him to give his conſent for *Santa Savarina*, wherein he ſhould perform as meritorious and heroical an action as could be imagined. *Canano* excuſed himſelf, ſaying, *He was not able to go out of his Cell, being tormented with extremity of pain in his feet*, *Gaetano* ſaid, *That that ſhould be ſupplyed by carrying him in a Chair.* *Canano* anſwered, *That the pain lay in one of his toes, which he could not ſtir without a violent diſturbance.* But *Gaetano* perceived that *Canano* his Diſeaſe lay more in his head than in his heel, and ſo unſatisfied, took his leave and left him. *Santa Savarina* his Conclaviſta although not proſperous, deſerves to be remarkable for his cunning herein, who perceiving a great probability of *Santa Savarina* his being Pope, went to the Chamber of *Canano*, telling him that he was Elected Pope, and deſired to ſee him : but this craft of his was countermined by the ſubtilty of *Canano*, who craftily anſwered him, *That he would take ſome convenient time to conſider of it*, yet for all that did not ſtir. It was certainly a miraculous thing, and an evident teſtimony

mony that *Santa Savarina* was not deſtined to be Pope; ſeeing that amongſt ſo many applauſes and gratulations, and having that morning been carried from his Chamber by the two chief heads *Madruzzo* and *Montalto*, with thirty and odd Cardinals, and conducted into the *Paulina* to be adored: And having been ſo long a time ſaluted and eſteemed as Pope, and Cardinal *del Monti* having gone out of the Chappel to give notice to all the ſeveral Conclaviſta's to break open the doors and walls of the Conclave, becauſe *Santa Savarina* was made Pope; yet for all theſe tokens and advices, not one of the Conclaviſta's would ſtir, or pack up any Cloaths, as is uſually done in ſuch actions to prevent the plundering of the Souldiers in the Chambers of the Cardinals, when they come into the Conclave after the Election of the Pope.

The death of *Gonzaga* and *Mendoza* are apparent evidences that he was not like to be Pope, they both being his chief ſupporters; the former dying few days before the vacancy, the other at the time of their going into the Conclave: and beſides the not coming of the Cardinal of *Auſtria* from *Germany*, as was daily expected; for by the aſſiſtance of any one of them he would have been Pope. Moreover to obſerve the incredible conſtancy and unity of the excludents, and the murmuring they made; proteſting that they had rather be expoſed to any torment than go to his Adoration.

The Cardinals were yet ſitting in the *Paulina* every one in his place, the Faction of *Santa Savarina* did urge and propound that the Scrutinium might be made publickly, becauſe already every Cardinal had publiſhed his Vote, and given his conſent, having raiſed him out of his Cell, ſaluting him Pope, and bringing him into the *Paulina* to worſhip him: and that none could retract, neither did the retreat of *Colonna* any way invalidate his former conſent which he had given for ſo many hours, and by ſo many ſigns. *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* knowing that this was the direct and certain way to make him Pope, ſeeing that none of them durſt have denyed their Vote in a publick Scrutinium, for fear of proving ingrateful and unfaithful in his promiſes, with all poſſible ardour did oppoſe themſelves againſt it, calling that a new and unknown way contradicting all antient and accuſtomed proceedings, contrary to the Liberties of Cardinals, who in giving their Votes are not to comply with any man, but only to ſatisfie their

own Consciences: therefore that the Scrutinium ought to be made secretly, otherwise they protested the nullity of the Election, calling the masters of the Ceremony as publick persons to take notice of their protestations.

In these new contradictions it was a marvellous thing that 34 Cardinals that were in the *Paulina* on the behalf of *Santa Savarina*, either by too much confidence of themselves, or rather by a Divine Providence should subscribe unto two Cardinals in a deliberation wherein did consist the loss or victory of each party: and so much the more, there being no Bull that did prohibit to make the Scrutinium publickly in such a case.

The opinion of making the Scrutinium secretly being prevalent, all fortune presently departed from *Santa Savarina*, notwithstanding his protestation which he made in these words, *Sine tamen præjudicio prioris meæ Electionis.* The Votes that were given on his behalf were 28, with that of *Montalto* and *Pinello* 30: insomuch that he wanted 4 Votes, which with his own after would have made 35, which would have been a complete and perfect number to have made his Election in a publick Scrutinium.

His supportors did remain all in confusion, and replete with shame to have been so grossly deluded, and durst neither speak nor lift up their heads; attributing to themselves the fault that the Scrutinium should be made secretly. On the other side the Excludents were overcome with joy for having obtained such a victory, they having been 8 hours in contention about it. Then the Cardinals being weary went to their several Cells to their dinner. Now to give Virtue her due praise, we must not omit that *Santa Savarina* in that large field of favours and dis-favours shewed always such a composition and moderation of mind, and a spirit so undaunted, magnanimous, and generous, that as he was not puff'd up with any good, so was he not dejected with any adverse fortune; accepting every thing as best for his Salvation. And whereas he went before to the Chappel attended with a great number of Cardinals to be worshipped as Pope, now he returns unto his Cell alone; and that too he found plundered by the servants of the Conclave, who had left him not a bit of bread for his Dinner: Then considering the state that he was in before in the *Paulina*, and the condition he was now in in his naked Cell; it is reported that as being a

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man he could not chooſe at one point of time both to admire and laugh at the infallibility of Fortune: yet it did not eſcape him without ſome tears. Every one ſtood amazed how it was poſſible that *Santa Savarina*, who went in the morning into the *Paulina*, Pope, ſhould in a few hours after return a ſingle Cardinal. The opinions amongſt them were divers, as alſo the faults that were alledged; ſome did attribute it to the errors that were made in the reckoning of the Votes, others to the defect of Zeal or Induſtry of his ſupportors, in protracting the Adoration, and giving ear and time to the Excludents: For had they proceeded directly to the Adoration, all impediments had been removed; by which means the Excludents had received no incouragement, nor young *Colonna* deſerted: Others did impute it to the imperfection of thoſe who failed to give their Votes, in the ſecret Scrutinium; others to the too great confidence of thoſe who conſented that it ſhould be made ſecret: But howſoever it were we cannot erre in ſaying it was not the pleaſure of God, who ruleth and diſpoſeth all, and to whoſe bleſſed will all humane diſcourſes ought to ſubmit in all humility.

For all this *Montalto*, who of all the reſt was the moſt unſatisfied, did not leave off his Robes, but rather with a greater fervour took the practice again in hand, and with the advice of his Friends did Congregate his Faction into the *Paulina*; intreating them for the love of God, for their own reputations ſake, and for the affection they did bear unto him, that they would remain conſtant in unity of mind for the Election of *Santa Savarina* to be Pope; becauſe by their conſtancy they would overcome the obſtinacy of their enemies: and going about to examine every ones opinion, when it came unto *La Rovere* his turn, he ſaid unto *Montalto*, *That as he was, and perpetually would remain his true and obliged ſervant, ſo he conceived it to be his duty freely to declare his opinion in this occurrence; the ſum of which was, That, they having already done for* Santa Savarina, *all what was poſſible to be done, if he ſhould proceed any further on the behalf of that only ſubject, it might very well be concluded from thence, that he eſteemed none of his Creatures beſides to be worthy of the Papacy, there being amongſt them many deſerving and worthy men: upon any of which Creatures of his he was willing to afford his concurring Vote; but in caſe none of them ſhould ſtand, that then he might be left at liberty, to diſpoſe his voice upon any other to whom his Conſcience ſhould direct him.*

Madruzzo

Madruzzo and *Montalto* being now more inflamed than ever towards the Election of *Santa Savarina*, did resolve with all solidity to use their endeavours for his advancement, hoping to overcome the opposition, partly by the coming of the Cardinal of *Austria*, who was every hour expected; and partly by the confidence they had to procure some of the Excludents to be on their party: as *Montalto* did endeavour with all manner of subtilty with *Paleotto*, and *Ascoli*, representing unto *Paleotto* the zeal of *Santa Savarina*, and his goodness: That he had taken him already to himself without any invitation from him the said *Montalto*; and that now his Lordship declining the assistance of *Santa Savarina*, either by his compliance with others, or for his own advancement, he would thereby detract from his own worth, and hazard the repute he had obtained in the estimation of divers of the other Cardinals. And to *Ascoli* he said, that there was nothing more detestable in a man, nor inconformable to a Christian, than ingratitude; intimating unto him the obsequious respect he ought to bear to the sacred memory of *Sextus* the fifth; and consequently to *Montalto* himself, who was the original occasion of his being created Cardinal. These arguments although powerful, were (as is is reported) by them refuted by many strong arguments: and certainly it was very miraculous to all men, that these two should so strongly oppose these attempts of *Montalto*; but it was more to be admired, that in that morning, in which the heavens did look so favourably on *Santa Savarina*, that for more than seven hours together he was Pope, if his own party had taken notice thereof: that neither they, nor any of the Excludents for any manner of respect did depart from what they had undertaken. After that came into the Conclave the Cardinal of *Joyeux*, a *Frenchman*, who presently was assaulted and inticed both by one and the other Faction; the Includents hoping to get the victory by his Vote, and the Excludents the confirmation of their Exclusion: But he resolved to declare himself for neither side. And it is said that it was the advice of *Altempos*: upon which irresolution the business was left in the Conclave, upon the same terms as they were before.

While the Includents were so earnest about concluding the business for *Santa Savarina*, and did their uttermost endeavours on his behalf, it was a wonderful thing to observe the indefatigable vigilance and industry that *Sforza*, *Sfondrato*, *Boromeo*, and *Aquaviva* did perform

form in oppoſition of them; having an eye not only on the power of the adverſe party, and to all thoſe great attempts which they made, but alſo to the danger they were in, and the great doubt they amongſt themſelves had, that if any one of them ſhould be ſeduced either by the tediouſneſs in their proceedings, or by hope, or by fear, they ſhould then be all involved in one confuſion and ſhame: Therefore to prevent all dangers, they did confirm amongſt themſelves their former faithful Union, diſpoſing with admirable order and prudence, the watches that every one of them was to obſerve both day and night: and to take continual notice of all the Practices, Combinations, Goings, Diſcourſes, and all Deſigns of every Cardinal and Conclaviſta. It was a ſtrange thing to ſee how diligently they did attend the actions of the Conclave all day and all night, alſo with Tapers in their hands; extolling beyond moderation as well the Porters of the adverſe party, as they did thoſe of their own: endeavouring to diſcover by them, what Cardinals were to be there, and what ſtratagems they had in hand; ſo great a danger requiring no leſs diligence. It is ſaid that thoſe young Cardinals at that time tempting *Platta*, told him, My Lord, it is ſaid that *Madruzzo* and *Montalto* are boaſting themſelves to be ſecure of your Vote on their behalf; we cannot in truth give credit unto it: and he wiſely anſwering, ſaid, It neither is, nor ever ſhall be true; I am real, and my life ſhall fail before my word ſhall be infringed; and the obligation in which I am bound to my Lord *Sfondrato*: whereupon they with an open arm embraced him, and kiſſed him. A little while after the Cardinal *La Rovere* dyed, a man in truth of great qualities, and upon whom many had fixed their reſolutions: But the Divine Providence was pleaſed to provide a better Crown for him. *Aldobrandino* was preſent at his death, who as being the chief Penitentiary, and as one that loved him as tenderly as his own Brother, did perform all kind of pious Offices for him, in putting him in mind of the welfare of his ſoul, and of his ſalvation; which death as it was dear unto him, ſo was it a Memorandum to all the other Cardinals to be prepared for death, eſpecially conſidering how they were involved in an abundance of troubles and perturbations even in the Conclave it ſelf.

The Excludents perceiving that the deſign of *Santa Savarina* was ſtill on foot, and proſecuted with a great deal of ardency, were ſtill

dubious, fearing every moment the coming of the Cardinal of *Austria*, and that at the end every thing ſhould fall out contrary to their deſires or wiſhes: whereupon to acquit themſelves from that inconvenience, they became daily ſolicitors to *Montalto* to alter his reſolutions; deſiring him to pitch upon any other of his Creatures, and they would unanimouſly ſerve him in the Election. On the other ſide they attempted *Madruzzo* with perſwaſions for him likewiſe to decline that buſineſs, ſeeing that this Enterpriſe was deſperate; and the more cunningly to invite him, they did promiſe him their ſeveral Votes to Elect him Pope: But he did exhort them to content themſelves with *Santa Savarina*, being a ſubject of ſo much deſert and vertue, and being deſired by ſo many Princes. And they anſwered him, that to conſider any more of that, were to prolong the time, to waſte away the Cardinals, and to ruinate the people and the City, who had ſpent ſo much time in Expectation: therefore they did intreat him, that he would conform himſelf with the Divine Will, and accept of the Grace of God ſent unto him, as it was offered by them in a ſpontaneous and free will, to imploy all their endeavours for his Lordſhips greater advancement. Whereupon *Madruzzo* being aſſaulted by ſo many rational inſtances, knowing that it was not fit to hold ſo long in ſuſpenſion the Conclave; and all Chriſtendom, upon the only expectation of *Santa Savarina*. And did acquaint *Montalto* and the reſt, that if within 3 days they could not bring their practice to effect, they would then conſider of ſome other ſubject. In that time every one did their uttermoſt towards it, and the term being expired without ſeeing any effect produced in the behalf of *Santa Savarina*, but rather that their party began to decline, thoſe that deſired to have *Madruzzo* Pope, thinking to have a great advantage, conſidering that the Excludents would afford them their Votes, and that they thought to have alſo thoſe of *Montalto*, as well for the promiſe he made to the Duke of *Ceſſa*, to concur to it at any time that the occaſion ſhould offer: as alſo for the good intention that they had found by diſcourſe with his Creatures towards *Madruzzo*: That he was always in the good opinion of *Montalto*, and that they would not fail to the occaſion. Thereupon *Spinola* acquainted *Montalto* that then was the time to advance *Madruzzo*, ſeeing that it only lay in him to make him Pope: intimating unto him the goodneſs and affability of that

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Lord; The promiſe that he had made and confirmed many times to the Catholick Ambaſſadour to help him. The great confidence that in all reaſon he ought to repoſe in that Lord, who by all expreſſions would acknowledge, what favour he ſhould receive from him. *Montalto* receiving this motion unexpectedly, neither truſted nor miſtruſted *Spinola*, but cunningly gave him good words, and took time to anſwer, that he might conſult with his Creatures, excuſing himſelf that he could not alone compaſs ſo great an Enterprize; his Creatures upon the motion being made, for the moſt part ſhewed themſelves averſe unto it. And ſome of them, as *Morozino*, *Giuſtiniano*, *Camerino*, *Monte*, *Florenza* and others did chearfully undertake his Excluſion: therefore going back a little while after to give his anſwer to *Spinola*, *Montalto* told him, that for his part he would be always ready to be an aſſiſtant to *Madruzzo*, but that he could not prevail with his Creatures to condeſcend unto it, ſaying, that they would forſake their relation to him. This anſwer and ſome other impediments did quite overthrow *Madruzzo*'s hopes, who nevertheleſs was ſo wiſe and ſo phlegmatick, that diſſembling his diſpleaſure he did appear to have been fully ſatisfied with *Montalto*, paſſing it outwardly very joyfully, and making ſhew as if he did not aim at all at the Papacy; although many did adviſe him to break with *Montalto*, but he wiſely would not do it, firſt to prevent any occaſion that the world might take to think him to be ambitious of the Popedom. And ſecondly, ſeeing that this thing might prove prejudicial to the King of *Spain* his affairs, in giving occaſion to *Montalto* to make a Pope in thoſe troubleſome times that the King could not confide in, and becauſe he would not in any caſe digreſs from his Majeſties Inſtructions, which were ſtill to preſerve unity with *Montalto*: And that they ſhould not conſult of any ſubject without the advice one of the other, and that they ſhould proceed with all poſſible ſpeed to the Election of a Pope.

After that they nominated *Como* and *Paleotto*, being both men commended by the King, and both worthy and deſerving men; although they were both unfortunate, through the vain ſuſpicions of the world; from whence it happened that their competition was but of a ſmall continuance; ſome ſparkles of grudging that *Montalto* and others had kindled againſt them in ſome former Conclaves for their particular intereſts and fears were not yet quite extinct, but both de-

ſerved nevertheleſs great praiſe, becauſe they did voluntarily ſubmit themſelves to the will of God. Many attempts were made after that for the old *Colonna*, ſome believing that the thing might be happily compaſſed, ſuppoſing that they had three firm and ſolid aſſiſtants: The firſt was that of the Excludents, by reaſon of the obligement between *Colonna* and them for their adherence. The ſecond was that of *Madruzzo* with the Votes of *Spain*, *Colonna* being one nominated by that King. The third was that of *Montalto*, becauſe of the affinity that was between the houſes of *Colonna* and *Peretta*; becauſe *Colonna* was a man full of maturity of years, piety in condition, and ſolidity in judgment: but when the time came that his aſſiſtants ſhould be put to the teſt, he found that there was ſuch a profundity of conſultation amongſt them, that he conceived it better to retreat with honour, than to charge on to deſtruction. *Montalto* did not ſhew himſelf any way backward in it, but was rather zealous in good offices to promote it, complaining yet of ſome of his own Creatures and others that would not adhere unto him: Therefore it is a general rule, that whoſoever puts himſelf upon imaginary hopes, and not on real aſſurances, moſt commonly deceiveth himſelf. It was furthermore diſcourſed both within and without the Conclave, that in theſe confuſions *Ruſticuccio* might have been advanced unto it, being acceptable to *Montalto*, *Spain* and other Princes, beloved of the ſacred Colledge, experienced in the Affairs of the Papacy, and carrying with him an apparency of a ſhort life. But that diſcourſe held not long, their aims being of more eminency.

The Excludents ſeeing that *Madruzzo* could not proceed becauſe of the Creatures of *Montalto*, of the *Venetians*, and the *Tuſcanes*, oppoſing him, and that after *Paletto* and *Como* were rejected by *Montalto*, and that *Colonna* with ſo many encouragements could not attain it; and conſidering by the ſame reaſons that there was no room for *Salviati*, nor for *Verona*, nor for *Mondovi*, they conclude that of neceſſity it muſt be given to one of *Montalto*'s Creatures: and whether *Madruzzo* will or nor, he will be conſtrained to condeſcend unto it: therefore being then deſirous to put an end to the Conclave, and to free themſelves of the fear continually they were in of *Santa Savarina*, they ſent word to *Montalto* that he would defer it no longer, but would nominate one of his own Creatures, promiſing him faithfully

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all their Votes. Therefore *Montalto* now perceiving that he had the Crown of glory in his hand, at which he had ſo long time aimed, although it was never known that his intention was to make *Aldobrandino* Pope, did accept with a great deal of alacrity both their advice and aſſiſtance which they offered unto him; telling them openly, that amongſt his Creatures *Aldobrandino* ſeemed the moſt competent man for it, for his moſt worthy qualities, and for the eſtimation that the ſacred Colledge held ever of him for his perſon and virtue. All of them did unanimouſly congratulate that Election, and with great promptitude imbrace it, ſaying, that they were content with it; and gave order that with all induſtry the deſign ſhould be ſo managed, that it might be carried without the oppoſition of any of the reſt of the Cardinals. *Montalto* did communicate this Election of his with ſome of his Creatures, who unanimouſly alſo did preſently agree with all their poſſible endeavours to confirm it, which gave him the animation thereunto: After that he ſpake to *Madruzzo*, telling him that ſeeing there were ſo many diviſions in the Conclave concerning the ſubjects that had been before Elected, it was in all probability the way to defer the Election for a long time to the ruine of the people, the ſcandal of the good, and the hazard of more Cardinals lives. And that therefore if his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to concur upon one of his Creatures, he hoped that there would be a ſhort period to ſo long a labour. And having ſaid thus unto him, propounded *Aldobrandino*, a perſon juſt, and fearing God; who although he were not of that number that were nominated by his King, yet he would be his friend, and would always be graciouſly protectant of his Majeſty, and of all his Eſtates, knowing him to be the only defenſor and ſupportor of the Catholick Religion: and that being conſcious of his integrity and ſincere inclination to the Kings Service, he himſelf would be his ſecurity.

Madruzzo was nothing troubled with this propoſition, but rather ſeemed willingly to approve it; anſwering that being not able of himſelf to give a final reſolution, he demanded ſome time to communicate it with his friends, to underſtand their opinion in it: And then recollecting himſelf, he began to conſider the circumſtances, alleadging for it, or concluding againſt it: for his refuſal he had theſe Motives; That it was derogatory to the honour of the King his Maſter, for him to concur in the Election of one that was not nominated by him.

That it would conclude him very much to blame to give his Vote to the Election of one to be Pope, who had not only not given any demonstration of Fidelity to his Masters Service, but might rather be suspected not to be in a condition of neutrality. Besides that, he knew not so distinctly what was the private resolution of *Aldobrandino* towards the world, towards the dependency of Princes, towards his own kindred; whether he were not ambitious to raise them, how he stood inclined: Besides that, being conscious of his former excluding him, and depriving him of the Papacy in the Conclave of *Urban* VII. when the greatest part of the Cardinals did concur in the Election of *Aldobrandino*, and when he was in his Chamber for two hours space ready to be adored as Pope. Contrariwise he had these Motives to accept him, he did consider that the intention of the King was so holy, that although he nominated only some few, yet he did not by that exclude any of the rest that might be conceived fit for it: but only these who for their interest, or their dependence, or for some other lawful cause might be suspected by him: and the Honour and Service of God being the Honour and Service of the King; and that *Aldobrandino* had indeed never been opposite, but rather assistant to the Kings designs, as he shewed manifestly in *Polonia*, when he went Legate thither; procuring with all his endeavours the liberty of Duke *Maximilian*. He considered further, that by the relation of very faithful men as far as he could penetrate, his disposition was altogether affable and meek; neither proud, nor very much addicted to study, devotion, and good works, that he had never in publick or in private preferred *France* before *Spain*, or *Spain* before *France*: but as an Ecclesiastick man, and a true Column of the Holy Church, had ever cherished the publick good of Christendom in general, the publick peace and quietness, a King in *France*, most Christian in effect as in Title, the extirpation of Hereticks and all Rebels against the Catholick Religion, the exaltation of the Holy Sea, his Dignity and Authority, having never been interessed or subjected to any Prince or Cardinal: his Conversation having been always with spiritual, grave, and learned men, having banished from his company all men that were deceitful, factious, adulators, murmurators, and the whole croud of vain and ignorant persons, having always in peace and gravity governed his own house, having neither admitted in his Family any seditious humour

humour or quarrelling that were blemished in reputation, nor having ever permitted any of his Servants to domineer in his house, but kept them always attentive to the glory of God, and the service of their Master, as if his Family had been a Monastery; besides that, although he was known to have two Nephews, one from his Brother, the other from his Sister; nevertheless they were bred to so much humility and civility, that both within the City and abroad they were held as an Ornament unto him. It did please *Madruzzo* also, that *Aldobrandino* had never shewed any hatred or spleen against any of them that had excluded him before, but rather all respect and favour. From all which motives *Madruzzo* drew this conclusion, that from so good a tree, bad fruit could not proceed; and that he that can well govern his own house, is fit to bear rule in the Church of God. Besides all these considerations, *Madruzzo* began to be weary, having seen all the hopes or means that could be made either for himself or those that were nominated by the King to be deluded. He saw that to prolong the Conclave any longer, was to irritate and break off with *Montalto*, and to fall from one evil to a worse. He saw that amongst the Creatures of *Montalto* none was like to prove so well as this. He saw that in satisfying *Montalto* in this particular, he obliged him much unto himself. He saw that proceeding in the Election of *Aldobrandino* chearfully and with alacrity, would prove a duplicite ingagement upon him. He saw that the King would approve of so good and zealous a Pastor. Finally, knowing that this Election was given miraculously from God, he resolved to give his consent to it: And having imparted the same unto his friends, he found them as chearful and alacreous as he could wish. Besides that *Alessandrino* and *Razivil* a *Polonian*, did concur to it with a wonderful chearfulness; the first in consideration that *Aldobrandino* was the Author of his preferment; the other by reason of that League of Amity wherein he was linked with *Aldobrandino* at the time of his being Legate in *Polonia*. This proceeding did continue some two days, by reason there were some of opinion that it would not be attained, he being none of those that had been nominated by the King of *Spain*: and partly as others said, because *Madruzzo* would first give an account thereof to the Duke of *Cessa* to have his approbation, who though it was believed that he was of himself prompt enough therein, yet it was thought that Father *Toledo* was a principal

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Instrument about him to advise him to it; assuring him that *Aldobrandino* would prove a very good Pope, and a true Friend to the King of *Spain*, in the defence and increase of the Catholick Religion. And it was said also that although *Montalto* with his Votes, the Excludents, the *Venetians*, and a part of the *Gregorians* could procure him the Papacy without the assistance of *Madruzzo*; yet out of his respect to the King he would not do it without the consent of the Duke of *Cessa*. It was indeed a thing remarkable, that amongst so many evident appearances of his preferment, *Aldobrandino* did nevertheless as much as in him lay, exclude himself, the heavens being at that time propitious to that sanctified advance, upon the 30. of *January* 1592. about one of the Clock *Montalto* did publish in the Conclave *Aldobrandino* to be Pope; whereupon *Madruzzo*, the Excludents, *Montalto* his Friends, and the *Venetians*, went unanimously to his Cell, to advertise and congratulate his Holy Election, who neither in face, word, nor gesture gave the least symptome of alteration, which was an evident testimony of his moderation, and that he had no absolute aim at the Papacy. Now we may observe for a further Example of astonishment, that it was rather a stupefaction than a rejoycement that he had imposed on him the supremest honour with the greatest burthen in Christendom, which was apparent after his Election; for the Masters of the Ceremonies going to demand by what appellation he would be intituled, and (according to custom) to know if he had admitted his Election to the Papacy? his Holiness kneeling before the Altar to the most Holy Crucifix, with a Flux of tears from his eyes was not at all attentive to the Masters of the Ceremony; whereupon the Cardinals that were nearest unto him answered, *I, I, he is willing to accept of it.* And the Masters of the Ceremony replying that it was not judicially satisfactory, unless proceeding from his Holiness own mouth. Then his Holiness deploring with excess of humility said thus, *Thou O Lord God, who seest the hearts of all men, and to whom all secrets are revealed, if the Election that hath been made of me thy most unworthy Vicar, be not to thy Glory and Service, and the salvation of all the faithful: I beseech thee that my tongue* adhæreat faucibus meis. *If also thou seest that it is advantageous to thy Holy Name, and to thy Holy Church, I upon the confidence of thy assistance expose my self to thy blessed will.* His Holiness having in that manner given his consent, he

he was arrayed in his Pontificalibus; and being sat upon the seat, was adored by all the Cardinals with a general acclamation. Afterwards, the Ceremonies being ended, he was demanded, What appellation he would assume? *Clement*, he answered. Then was he carried to St. *Peters*, and was met in the Portal by the Canons and Prelates saluting him with these Holy words, *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, the *Te Deum Laudamus* following him. As soon as he came into the Church, he performed his Orizons at the Altar of the most Holy Sacrament: and afterwards his Holiness was carried *ad limina Apostolorum*; where having made his Orizons, he was again set upon his seat, and adored by the Cardinals. In the interim, his Election was divulged all over *Rome*, whereupon every one came to see him, blessing and praising God for so Holy a Pastor, who being replete with Charity and Alacrity, gave them a general Benediction: and by his Countenance assuring them, that he would afford them Justice, and procure Plenty unto their Bodies, and Salvation unto their Souls. His Holiness being at last conducted to the Vatican, confessed himself to Father *Gio Franbordine della Valicella* his Confessor, and then said Mass, (as he usually did) with great Devotion. It is not to be omitted to declare the words his Holiness spake unto his Confessor, which were, *That he desired him to pray unto God, that if such fruits should not proceed from his Papacy as might be advantageable to his Holy Church, that he would be pleased the sooner to deprive him of his life:* demonstrating openly, *That his desire and aim was not to rule, but to serve his God, and to feed his Flock.* This Conclave then which was begun with so many divided wills, contentions, fury and strife, that it was feared it would have proved a Schism, was at last, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, concluded and terminated into a most holy Peace, and Union; of which always the praise, honour, and glory be ascribed to the Divine Majesty, the giver of all good things.

A Note of the Cardinals that were present at this Conclave.

IL Luſtriſſimo Gieſualdo Decano.
Aragona.
Marc Antonio Colonna.
Como.
Paleotto.
Altemps.
Aleſſandrino.
Madruzzo.
Sans.
Santa Severina.
Gonzaga.
Coſtruccio.
Aldobrandino.
Aſcoli.
Gallo.
Coſenza.
Morasino.
Sarnano.
Ano.
Ruſticuccio.
Simoncello.
Dezza.
Fiorenza.
Canano.
Salviati.
Verona.
Mondovi.
Spinola.
Terra Nova.
Lancilotto.
Gaettano.
Sauli.
Monte.
Pepoli.
Camerino.
Montelparo.
Sforza.
Gioiſa.
Montalto.
Matei.
Giuſtiniano.
Aſcanio Colonna.
Boromeo.
Cuſano.
Razzivil.
Sfondrato.
Farneſe.
Aquaviva.
Platti.
Santiquatro.
Pinello.
Auſtria.
Revere who died.

FINIS.

XUM